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VOL. XVI. No. 25

MONDAY, MAY 7, 1923

WHOLE No. 448

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RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

(Concluded from page 186)

(3) The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, by David Magie, of Princeton University. This is the first of three volumes. The contents are as follows:

Preface (v-vii); Introduction (xi-xxxii), falling into two parts, I. The Scope and Literary Character of the *Historia Augusta* (xi-xxiv), II. The Tradition of the *Historia Augusta* (xxiv-xxxii); The Manuscripts (xxxiii-xxxvi); Editions and Translations (xxxvii); Text and Translation (2-493).

In his Preface (v) Professor Magie explains that the translation of certain biographies had been furnished to him by his friend Mr. Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore, and that the Latin text of the first six biographies was supplied by Miss Susan H. Ballou, of Bryn Mawr College, who had long been studying the manuscripts of these biographies and had planned to prepare a new text of them, but had been prevented by pressure of other work. He explains also (vi) that in his Introduction he has sought to give

... a brief account of the *Historia Augusta* the authors, their method and style, and a summary of the study expended on it from the close of the classical period to the present and its use by later historians.

The biographies included within the volume are those of Hadrian (2-81) and Aelius (82-99), both by Aelius Spartianus; Antoninus Pius (100-131), Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (132-205), and Lucius Verus (206-231), all three by Julius Capitolinus; Avidius Cassius, by Vulcacius Gallicanus (232-263); Commodus Antoninus, by Aelius Lampridius (264-313); Helvidius Pertinax, by Capitolinus (314-347); Didius Julianus (348-369), Severus (370-429), and Pescennius Niger, by Spartianus (430-459); and Clodius Albinus, by Capitolinus (460-493).

(4) Volume 2 of the translation of Livy, by Professor B. O. Foster, of Stanford University, has appeared. This is the second of thirteen volumes, and gives a rendering of Books III and IV. For the first volume see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 13.169. There Professor Foster's rendering of Livy 1.29 (the account of the destruction of Alba Longa) was given as a good specimen of his style.

In the short Preface to this volume, Professor Foster notes that his text, as printed, is that of the latest revisions of the Weissenborn-Mueller edition of Livy, but that the spelling is that adopted by Professors Conway and Walters in their critical edition of Livy, in the Oxford Classical Text Series, of which two volumes, covering respectively Books I-V and VI-X, have appeared. To the latter edition Pro-

fessor Foster also owes the numerous readings which differ from those of the Weissenborn-Mueller text, and the materials from which his textual notes have been drawn up. The volume contains an Index of the Proper Names mentioned within it (461-463), and a Map showing Latium and the surrounding country, with an inset map giving the "Regio proxima suburbana".

(5) One naturally mentions next the two volumes, out of six, of the translation of Polybius, by W. R. Paton. Mr. Paton died suddenly in 1921. Accordingly, the brief Introduction (vii-xvi), dealing with Polybius, His Life and His Work, is supplied by Colonel H. J. Edwards. The task of seeing the work through the press devolved upon the General Editors, Professor Capps, of Princeton University, and Messrs. T. E. Page and W. H. D. Rouse.

Volume I gives the translation of Books I and II of Polybius, and Volume II that of Books III and IV. Each volume contains, I am glad to see, its own Index of Proper Names. This is an innovation in the Series which is heartily to be commended.

Students of Livy, in particular, should welcome the opportunity to study, in such convenient form, with the aid of a readable translation, Polybius side by side with the Latin author.

(6) In *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 15.198, mention was made of Volumes I-II of a translation of Herodotus, by Mr. A. D. Godley, Hon. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Volume III, containing the translation of Books V-VII, has now appeared. It contains, besides the Greek text and the English translation, an Introduction (vii-xviii), an Index of Proper Names (559-568), a Map of the Peloponnesus, and a map showing the Route of Xerxes.

Mr. Godley is a very ardent admirer of Herodotus. On pages xvii-xviii, he writes very entertainingly of Herodotus's style, of the "marvellous skill" with which Herodotus "heightens the dramatic appeal throughout by a constantly interwoven personal element". He maintains also that "modern research has not detracted from his general credibility. It is not too much to say that where Herodotus gives most local detail he is least assailable". He concludes that

... any candid reader, in respect of those parts of the narrative where Herodotus is the sole witness, <must> incline rather to belief in the first of historians than in those who would reconstruct history on the precarious basis of a *a priori* probability.

(7) For the first time, a prose version, in English, of the Roman poet Claudian has been issued. This is by Mr. Maurice Platnauer, Sometime Honorary Scholar of New College, Oxford, and Assistant Master of Win-

chester College. Mr. Platnauer's name is not altogether unfamiliar to the readers of *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*, since Professor Boak reviewed his volume, *The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus* (13. 79-80).

The contents of the two volumes are as follows:

Volume I. Introduction (vii-xxvi); Poems—Panegyric on the Consuls Probinus and Olybrius (2-23); Against Rufinus (24-97); The War Against Gildo (98-137); Against Eutropius (138-229); Fescennine Verses in Honour of the Marriage of the Emperor Honorius (230-239); Epithalamium of Honorius and Maria (240-267); Panegyric on the Third Consulship of the Emperor Honorius (268-285); Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship of the Emperor Honorius (286-335); Panegyric on the Consulship of Fl. Manlius Theodorus (336-363); On Stilicho's Consulship, Book I (364-393).

Volume II. Poems—On Stilicho's Consulship, Books II-III (3-69); Panegyric on the Sixth Consulship of the Emperor Honorius (71-123); The Gothic War (124-173); Shorter Poems (174-291); Rape of Proserpine (292-377); Index of Poems (379-381); Index of Proper Names (383-413).

Mr. Platnauer accepts almost in toto the text of Claudian published by Birt, in 1892. There is practically no trace of an apparatus criticus in his volumes. He differs, very seldom, from Birt, and only "because Birt's conservatism commits him . . . to untranslatable readings, in which cases my choice of a variant is arbitrary" (I. xxiii). His Bibliography (xxiv) can certainly lay no claim to exhaustiveness. Even I, who have no license to write on matters relating to Claudian, may add to it an article by Professor Clifford H. Moore, entitled *The Heroic Past in the Poems of Claudian*, *The Classical Journal* 6 (1910), 108-115. One sentence of the Bibliography seems rather carelessly constructed:

. . . Reference may also be made to Professor Bury's appendix to vol. iii of his edition of Gibbon (1897, under "Claudian") and to Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vol. xxx. *The Encomiums of Claudius Claudianus*.

It would have been better to refer to the second of these studies by its exact title, *The Rhetorical Structure of the Encomia of Claudius Claudian*, and to have named its author, Dr. Lester P. Struthers.

In his introduction, Mr. Platnauer gives first the historical background of the life of Claudian (vii-xi). He then puts together the little that is known about the life of the poet (xi-xvi), and seeks to arrive at a just estimate of Claudian as a writer (xvii-xix). The history of the text is then considered, and Birt's classification of the manuscripts is set forth in detail (xx-xxii).

As a specimen of Mr. Platnauer's style I give the text of the opening paragraph of the Fescennine Verses in Honour of the Marriage of Honorius, and Mr. Platnauer's version (I. 230-231):

Princeps corusco sidere pulchrior,
Parthis sagittas tendere doctior,
eques Gelonis imperiosior,
quae digna mentis laus erit arduae?
quae digna formae laus erit igneae?
te Leda mallet quam dare Castorem;
praeferet Achilli te proprio Thetis;

victum fatetur Delos Apollinem;
credit minorem Lydia Liberum.
tu cum per altis impiger ilices
praedo citatum cornipedem reges
ludentque ventis instabiles comae,
telis iacebunt sponte tuis ferae
gaudensque sacris vulneribus leo
admittet hastam morte superbior.
Venus reversum spernit Adonidem;
damnat reductum Cynthia Virbium.

Prince, fairer than the day-star, who shootest thine arrows with an aim more sure than the Parthian's, rider more daring than the Geloni, what praise shall match thy lofty mind, what praise thy brilliant beauty? Leda would rather have thee her son than Castor; Thetis counts thee dearer than her own Achilles; Delos' isle admits thee Apollo's victor; Lydia puts Bacchus second to thee. When in the heat of the chase thou guidest thy coursing steed amid the towering holm-oaks and thy tossing locks stream out upon the wind, the beasts of their own accord will fall before thine arrows and the lion, right gladly wounded by a prince's sacred hand, will welcome thy spear and be proud so to die. Venus scorns Adonis returned from the dead, Diana disapproves Hippolytus recalled to life.

(8) Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Harvard University, has issued the first of two volumes of the translation of Aeschylus. This contains *The Suppliant Maidens*, *The Persians*, *Prometheus Bound*, *The Seven Against Thebes* (2-419), an Introduction (vii-xl), and an Index of Proper Names (421-426).

The Introduction, a solid piece of work, deals, first of all, with Athens of the days of Aeschylus, with Aeschylus's dramatic art, with his life and the sources of his dramas (vii-xxxix). The bibliographies of editions and translations (xxxix-xxxv), and of manuscripts (xxxv-xxxvii), are thoroughgoing.

Professor Smyth thus sets forth the principles on which he has constructed his text (xxxix-xl):

. . . The authority of the Medicean is not to be rejected except under the gravest compulsion; the readings of the later manuscripts, whether due to a tradition independent of the Medicean or to subsequent conjecture, are to be admitted only when the reading <s> of the Medicean are untenable; and recourse is to be had to modern conjectures only when the readings of all the manuscripts is <sic!> impossible or in the highest degree improbable.

Plainly, then, the text has the authority of a highly competent scholar, who has worked independently at the text. In this respect his volume ranks above many other volumes in the Library. The Critical Apparatus is fuller, I think, than that in any other volume of the Library. Its aim is to set forth (xl)

. . . (1) all departures of the printed text from the readings of the Medicean; (2) the discrepancies between the readings of the Medicean and those of the later manuscripts, regularly when the latter have been adopted, occasionally only when they deserve special attention; and (3) all cases when the readings of all the manuscripts have been deserted in favour of the emendations of scholars from the sixteenth century to the present day.

As a specimen of the translation, I quote the version of Prometheus 1-27:

POWER

To earth's remotest confines we are come, to the

Scythian tract, an untrodden solitude. And now, Hephaestus, thine is the charge to observe the mandates laid upon thee by the Father—to clasp this miscreant upon the high-beetling crags in shackles of binding adamant that cannot be broken. For thine own pride, even flashing fire, source of all arts, he hath purloined and bestowed upon mortal creatures. Such is his offence; wherefore he is bound to make requital to the gods, that so he may be lessoned to brook the sovereignty of Zeus and forbear his championship of man.

HEPHAESTUS

Power and Force, for you indeed the behest of Zeus is now fulfilled, and naught remains to stay you. But for me—I cannot nerve myself to bind amain a kindred god upon this rocky cleft assailed by cruel winter. Yet, come what may, I am constrained to summon courage to this deed; for 'tis perilous to disregard the commandments of the Father.

Lofty-minded son of Themis who counselst aright, against my will, no less than thine, I must rivet thee with brazen bonds no hand can loose to this desolate crag, where nor voice nor form of mortal man shall meet thy ken; but, scorched by the sun's bright beams, thou shalt lose the fair bloom of thy flesh. And glad shalt thou be when spangled-robed night shall veil his brightness and when the sun shall scatter again the rime of morn. Evermore the burthen of thy present ill shall wear thee out; for thy deliverer is not yet born.

(9) In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15, 188 mention was made of a volume of the Library, by Professor Carleton N. Brownson, containing Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6-7, and *Anabasis* 1-3. We have to mention now a volume containing *Anabasis* 4-7, translated by Professor Brownson, and the *Symposium* and *Apology* of Xenophon, by Professor O. J. Todd, of the University of British Columbia. The introductory matter supplied by Professor Todd is very brief (375-379).

C. K.

SAPPHO II

A passage in the *Iliad* impressed me some time ago with its portrayal of the symptoms of fear. It is in Book 10, which is so full of gloom and foreboding. Agamemnon, coming to Nestor, says (90-95):¹

'... I wander thus, for that sweet sleep rests not on mine eyes, but war is my care, and the troubles of the Achaeans. Yea, greatly I fear for the sake of the Danaans, nor is my heart firm, but I am tossed to and fro, and my heart is leaping from my breast, and my good knees tremble beneath me'.

This passage is unique among the numerous descriptions of fear in Homer. Notice the rhetorical ἀλλ' ἀλὰ λῆκνηται; it is translated above by 'I am tossed to and fro', but it might better be translated, with Bechtel (*Lexilogus zu Homer*, 34), by 'I am beside myself'. To say that the heart leaps from the breast would be more suitable to express the effect produced by the sudden apprehension of danger. Now, the grouping

¹Unless otherwise indicated, references to the fragments of the Greek lyric poets are to the volume entitled *Greek Lyric Poets*, by Herbert Weir Smyth (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1900). References are made also to Professor Smyth's commentary on the fragments. The translations of the passages from Homer come from the well-known translation of the *Iliad*, by Andrew Lang, Walter Leaf, and Ernest Myers, and from that of the *Odyssey*, by S. H. Butcher, and Andrew Lang (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913, 1917).

of the four emotional phrases whose description closes this passage called to my mind the famous poem (II), in which Sappho enumerates nine symptoms of passionate love:

'A peer of the gods seems the man to me that sits in thy presence, and near by listens to thy sweet speech and love-enkindling laughter; this indeed makes my heart flutter in my breast. For, when I look upon thee, no sound of voice more issues from my throat, my tongue is palsied, and straightway a subtle flame has coursed throughout my frame. With eyes I nothing see, there's humming in my ears, and sweat runs over me; I am all of a tremble and paler than grass; methinks I am about to die, of sense bereft'.

The question arose in my mind, whether Homer's elaborate description of fear had not suggested to Sappho an elaborate description of overpowering love; and whether, furthermore, her poem should not be regarded primarily as a literary product, rather than as "a pathological picture of the tumultuous passion experienced by Sappho in the presence of a woman she loves" (Smyth, 233-234). The latter is the ancient view, and seems still to prevail. Plutarch, *Demetrius* 38.3, lets the physician Erasistratus detect in Antiochus, whenever Stratonice appears, Sappho's symptoms of love (compare Jahn-Vahlen, *Longinus*, page 23): •

'... There appeared, in the case of Antiochus, all those symptoms of Sappho: the choking of the voice, the feverish blush, the obscuring of vision, profuse sweat, disordered and tumultuous pulse, and, finally, when he was completely overcome, bewilderment, amazement, and pallor'.

We notice that the buzzing ears and the trembling have been omitted; the irregular pulse is a physician's observation. But Sappho's symptoms cannot be regarded as specific manifestations of love; they are symptoms of extraordinary excitement which may show themselves under various circumstances, such as fear, anxiety, and overpowering joy (compare James, *Psychology* 2, 446-448, 454). Sappho calls him blessed who can sit in the presence of the charming woman addressed, and listen to her sweet conversation and love-inspiring laughter, whereas she herself is simply overcome when she gazes at her. The overwhelming effect of love-inspiring beauty, rooted in folkpoetry (Smyth, 242), had long been a commonplace. So, when Hera appears before Zeus (*Il.* 14. 294), 'love came over his deep heart'. Later (315-316), Zeus says, 'For never once as thus did the love of goddess or woman so mightily overflow and conquer the heart within my breast'. Paris says to Helen (*Il.* 3. 442), 'For never yet bath love so enwrapped my heart'. Again, when Penelope appears before the suitors (*Od.* 18. 212), '... straightway the knees of the wooers were loosened, and their hearts were enchanted with love'. Hesiod says (*Theogony* 120-122), '... Eros, who ... most beautiful among the immortal gods, limb-relaxing, conquers the mind and thoughtful counsel in the breasts of all the gods and of all mankind'. In Archilochus, *Frag.* 111 (Hiller-Crusius), we have 'but me, my friend, limb-relaxing longing conquers'; in *Frag.* 102, 'wretched I lie, lifeless from longing, by will of the gods,

pierced through my 'bones with grievous pains'; and, in *Frag.* 104, 'for such longing for love, having encoined itself in my heart, shed a deep mist over my eyes, stealing from my breast my gentle mind' (Smyth, 236, cites this as a parallel to Sappho's 'with eyes I nothing see'). In contrast with this somewhat terrifying picture of Eros, Alkman (XIII) gives him a gentler aspect: 'Eros again, by will of Aphrodite, flowing sweet, warms me in my heart'. On this Professor Smyth (196) cites Hesiod, *Theogony* 910: 'from their eyes, as they looked, flowed limb-relaxing love'. Alkman (*Frag.* XV) lets Eros appear as a mischievous boy, skipping from flower to flower, a description that is in the style in which Anacreon delights. To Alcaeus (III), however, Eros is still 'the most fearful of the gods'. Professor Smyth, commenting on this fragment, says (215): "... His genealogy as given in Alkaios characterizes his stormy, impetuous nature"; he cites Sappho XIII, 'Eros has shaken my heart as a wind rushing upon oaks on the mountain'. On page 241 he calls attention to *Od.* 5.368, 'And as when a great tempestuous wind tosseth a heap of parched husks'. Compare here also *Il.* 14. 398-399: 'nor calls the wind so loudly in the high leafy tresses of the trees <oaks>, when it rages and roars its loudest'. The dread aspect of Eros appears again in Sappho XVI, 'Eros again, the limb-relaxing, agitates me, the bitter sweet, invincible monster' (Professor Smyth, 242, gives interesting parallels). And so, in the poem under discussion, Sappho's heart becomes greatly agitated; and we may note that the verb which introduces her agitation is used to denote fright in *Od.* 22.298, and 18.340 (compare Smyth, 235). Her agitation becomes so great that her voice fails her, a fact that is made emphatic in two sentences. This two-fold description seems noteworthy, as the failure of Penelope's voice, when she hears of the danger to which Telemachus is exposed, is similarly described (*Od.* 4. 703-706):

'... So spake he, but her knees were loosened where she stood, and her heart melted within her, and long time was she speechless, and lo, her eyes were filled with tears and the voice of her utterance was stayed. And at the last she answered him and said'.

The part of this passage expressing speechlessness is used, word for word, in *Il.* 17.695-696, to describe the effect of the news of Patroclus's death on Antiochus.

Thus far (verses 1-9), our poem gives but another description of the sudden awakening of love's stormy passion. But now follows a notable expansion. Sappho feels a warm glow spread over her body, which we might have expected to develop along the lines of *πρόσος*; instead of this, she is seized with vertigo (compare Plutarch, *Amatorius* 18), so that her sight fails her, her ears buzz, sweat breaks out over her, she trembles all over, she becomes paler than grass, and is on the point of swooning. We can recognize all, or most, of these symptoms as antecedent to a spell of fainting, which she uses to form a climax, to balance the initial agitation. It is interesting to note that in the *Odyssey* the climax of recognitions is the fainting of old Laertes in the arms of his son (24. 345-350); Laertes's pathetic

figure reminds one of old Priam in *Iliad* 24. The Homeric passages that have been cited are all impressive, as they stand out from a background of numerous passages that are very simple and stereotyped. The Greek phrase 'knees and heart were loosened', which is used to describe the effect of a blow in *Il.* 21. 425, is used to describe fear in *Il.* 21.114, *Od.* 5.297, 406, 22.68, 147, anxiety in *Od.* 4.703, and joy in *Od.* 23.205, 24.345. Similarly, the expression 'limbs were loosened' describes the result of a wound in *Il.* 7.16, 15.435, fear in *Od.* 18.341, and grief in *Il.* 18.31. No one doubts that Sappho had a highly emotional and passionate nature; on the other hand, there cannot be any question of the assistance a writer derives from the formulation by other writers of the ideas he, or she, desires to express. Homer's influence on Sappho is vouched for by the Homeric words and phrases which she adopts (compare Smyth, 230). Assuming, then, that the passages in Homer describing fear and anxiety, which stand out so prominently, as shown above, influenced Sappho in her choice of symptoms, we can turn to Lucretius 3.152-158 with heightened interest, for he uses the symptoms of her poem to describe fear:

Verum ubi vementi magis est commota metu mens,
consentire animam totam per membra videmus
sudoresque ita palloremque existere toto
corpore et infringi linguam vocemque aboriri,
caligare oculos, sonere auris, succidere artus,
denique concidere ex animi terrore videmus
saepe homines.

Perhaps the most striking example of Homer's possible influence on Sappho may be seen in the case of her beautiful introduction, which looks as if it had been suggested by *Od.* 17.518-521, where Eumaeus describes to Penelope the charm of listening to Odysseus as he tells of his adventures:

'... Even as when a man gazes on a singer, whom the gods have taught to sing words of yearning joy to mortals, and they have a ceaseless desire to hear him so long as he will sing; even so he charmed me, sitting by me in the halls'.

This passage must have been famous among the song-loving Greeks, and may have suggested the scene on the Orpheus vase (compare Bulle, *Der Schöne Mensch*, Pl. 305; or Ernest Buschor, *Greek Vase-Painting*, as translated by G. C. Richards, 143), a scene that grows on one, as we try to interpret each figure, one of which, especially, illustrates Homer's *πρωτόπικτος* (verse 518). Alma Tadema has similarly pictured the enraptured gaze of the listener, in his famous painting, *Alcaeus and Sappho*, now in the Walter's Art Gallery, Baltimore. In the *Odyssey* 17.518-521, Eumaeus describes the enraptured listener as gazing on the bard, who sings 'words of yearning joy'; Sappho describes her favored mortal as listening to 'sweet speech and laughter that awakens yearning'. Professor Smyth (235) cites as a parallel *Il.* 6.484, 'laughing with tears in her eyes'; we are reminded of Alkman VII, 'maidens, honey voiced, of yearning speech'. Like the epic poet, Sappho begins with a characterization of the object of her admiration, and then describes her own feelings, just as the epic

passage concludes with 'even so he charmed me, sitting by me in the halls'. She too listens.

The effective simplicity of Sappho's poem may be understood as the clarifying result of previous attempts of others to describe emotional symptoms.

The usual interpretation of Sappho's poem is largely under the influence of the beautiful, but fanciful, eulogy of Longinus, *De Sublimitate* 10, to which work we owe the preservation of the poem. Professor Smyth quotes Longinus thus (233):

'Are you not astonished how at the same time her soul, body, ears, tongue, sight, colour, all vanish and disappear as completely as if they were not her own? She experiences contradictory sensations—at one and the same moment she freezes, burns, raves, reasons; so that it is not a single passion that is here set forth, but a congress of passions'.

But how, for example, can 'she freezes' be derived from *χλωρότερα δὲ ποίας ἔμμι*? Homer, indeed, uses *χλωρό*s frequently to describe the pallor produced by fear, a connection that suggests cold; but the word strictly denotes color, and so is used as an epithet of honey in *Il.* 11.631, *Od.* 10.234, and of the club of olive wood in *Od.* 9.320; moreover, its various connotations include 'freshness' and 'strength', but never 'cold'. However, if the word is associated with the phrase 'and sweat runs over me', as has been commonly done, there may be some justification for thinking of a 'cold sweat'. At any rate, it was probably under the influence of the author of the *De Sublimitate* that Ambrose Philips translated by "In dewy damps my limbs were chilled, My blood with gentle horror thrilled", and J. H. Merivale by "And cold drops fall" (see H. T. Wharton, *Sappho* [New York, Brentano, 1920], 58, 59). H. L. Havell's translation of Longinus (New York, Macmillan, 1890) reads, "With dewy damps my limbs are chilled, An icy shiver shakes my frame". And yet Sappho's 'I am paler than grass' is a mild, not to say obscure, basis for the above interpretations. But, what is more to the point, the association of pallor with sweat, assumed above, is mistaken, as can be seen by an examination of the structure of this poem, which is similar to that of the ode to Aphrodite. In the latter, the second, third, fourth, and fifth stanzas all begin with a continuation of the content of the one preceding. The sixth stanza is not linked in the same way, but, nevertheless, makes close connection, in verse 21, with what precedes, and the last stanza harks back to the beginning of the ode with *ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν*. Similarly in Sappho's poem, *καὶ γέλαισας ἱμερῶν*² (5), and *ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲν γλώσσα θαγῆ*³ (9) are each a part of the respective stanza preceding. Accordingly, we have a right to assume that *ἀ δὲ μ' ἰδρωὶ κακχέται* (13) is the development of the warmth and 'vertigo' described in the third stanza, and that the sentence 'I am paler than grass' is to be taken merely as the last symptom of a progressive series, culminating in the sense of swooning.

If the above discussion is substantially well-founded, the reputation of Sappho as a literary artist can only

be enhanced. Free of anything strictly sensuous, the poem becomes a splendid example of Sappho's poetic imagination, which gives a solid basis for the belief that even those fragments of her poetry which must be classed as sensuous are also the products of her poetic imagination.

Before closing it seems worth while to call attention to Catullus 51, which follows the first three stanzas of Sappho's poem more closely than seems to be generally allowed. To appreciate this better, and for greater enjoyment, we ought to read the poem with the second stanza completed with some conjectural reading like *vois in ore* (see Professor E. T. Merrill's edition). The abrupt warning against dangerous leisure in the last stanza seems like a humorous criticism of such extreme infatuation.

GOUCHER COLLEGE,
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

HERMAN L. EBELING

REVIEWS

Horace and His Influence. By Grant Showerman. Boston: Marshall Jones Company (1922). Pp. xviii+176. \$1.50.

As a British scholar, I esteem it a high privilege to have been invited to review Professor Showerman's volume in the series admirably conceived to exhibit to us of the modern world "Our Debt to Greece and Rome". This very readable book is based both on knowledge, and, what I should say is indispensable for appreciation of this poet above all others, on affection. I remember that, some years ago, a critic, in noticing my book, *A Literary History of Rome*, suggested that I had been too good to Horace. Possibly some of his frank paganism had given offense to the reviewer; but I never felt inclined to retract any kind word I ever said of the Roman poet, and, now that I have read Professor Showerman's estimate, I know that I shall unsay nothing. The book will be found successfully to interest readers in the many phases of Horace's character, attitude, thought, and style: in this way it makes him live again within his own environment; but the author's task was a wider one than that, for he has traced in outline the continued vitality of the poet's influence in medieval times, through the Renaissance, and in more recent centuries.

At the outset emphasis is rightly laid on the personal factor which underlies and explains Horace's undying appeal—what one might call his wonderful power of winning friends at epochs other than his own; and the interpretation of Horace as person and writer consists largely in a skilful paraphrase of his own words. "The pages which follow", says the author (5), "are a manner of Horatian mosaic. They contain little not said or suggested by the poet himself". For those, then, who know their Horace there are constant and happy echoes of his verses, and for those who do not know Latin there is a vivid and entertaining representation of his habits, feelings, opinions, and counsel. The prose summary of Horatian thought is enlivened by verse translations, sometimes borrowed from others, some-

²Professor Smyth prints this word with the *mu* doubled.

³A digamma should be prefixed to this word.

times by Professor Showerman. It is proper that all of us who write about Horace should try our hand at rendering him, if only to prove that, as Frederic Harrison said, "Horace remains forever the type of the untranslatable", and that, as the author remarks (147), "... no other poet has left behind him so long a train of disappointed aspirants". Nevertheless, *Est quodam prodire tenus si non datur ultra*. The honest pursuit of an ideal is nowise a wholly futile quest: and some of the later portions of this work show very charmingly how much in modern times has been achieved in translation, adaptation, or almost unconscious imitation of Horace, whose spirit and manner in many ways are mighty yet.

The three main sections of the book are entitled *Horace Interpreted* (3-68), *Horace Through the Ages* (69-126), and *Horace the Dynamic* (127-167). In the first, a sane and satisfying account is given of Horace as man, as poet, as interpreter of his time and his country, and as a counsellor in life. Here I am glad to note, in passing, Professor Showerman's conclusion (24) that "Horace loved both city and country", because it confirms a protest which I once made (*A Literary History of Rome*, 539) against mistaking him for an absolute townsman. The second section is a good historical sketch of the manner in which the works and the influence of Horace have been bequeathed through the centuries, and it concludes with an outline of the modern feeling for him in Italy, France, Germany, Spain, England, and in the Schools. This forms a logical introduction to the final section, where the author concerns himself with the dynamic effect of Horace upon literature, upon criticism through the doctrines of the *Ars Poetica* (which are usefully summarized), and upon the translator's ideal. In the brief Notes and Bibliography appended at the close (173-176), it was an excellent idea to incorporate references to the text of the poet for such persons as wish to increase their acquaintance with Horace by reading at first-hand the principal poems which have inspired the essayist's conclusions. Poems are grouped under heads to illustrate Horace as man, poet, interpreter of his times, or philosopher of life; and by such means a veritable anthology is provided.

Broadly I am in agreement with Professor Showerman's attitude to Horace. I am quite certain that we are in friendly rivalry as Horace-lovers; but I do not go all the way with him when he contrasts Horace with Vergil. Is Vergil really "the readily understood" (80)? And is it safe to declare Horace "more intellectual than Vergil" (91)? There must be many students who, like myself, find more and more profundity in Vergil at each fresh reading. With the description of Horace on page 91 as "the poet strictly of this world and in no respect of the next" I concur; only, I should add that Vergil is a poet both of this world and of the next, and a diviner of the innermost things of human destiny. The depth of Vergil is not solely depth of emotion; it is also a depth of thought. Horace possesses the gift of practical wisdom applicable to everyday existence; Vergil possesses what might be called the wisdom of eternity.

There is, however, a risk of overdoing such contrasts; the poets are largely incommensurate and incommensurable. At the same time, as contrasts have been mentioned, I might suggest that it would have been worth while, in the interest of the general reader, to make passing comment at page 78 on Quintilian's omission of Catullus in his remark, 'Of our lyric poets, Horace is about the only one worth reading'.

A few points might be considered in view of a second edition. On pages 40-41 it is doubtful whether a Latin-less reader would grasp that the quotation there translated is from Lucretius; it is not clearly introduced. On page 99 something has gone wrong in printing. Line 9 reappears as line 13, but even its excision unfortunately does not leave the sentence intelligible. Personally, if I may venture, without being considered captious, to speak candidly, I wish Professor Showerman would not give the sanction of his authority to the use of certain nouns as verbs—e. g. "vagabonding" (7) and "glimpsed" (167)—but I know it is open to him to retort that Elizabethan English in the one case and James Russell Lowell in the other are ample justification. We all observe, however, weaker brethren extending the practice objectionably.

These, after all, are but small matters. The book is stimulating because its writer has brought out the spiritual force in Horace and the lessons to be derived here and now from his humane sagacity and consummate expression of experience. No attentive reader can ever take Horace for a careless and shallow epicure; and Professor Showerman does not let one forget the sadder side of the poet's feelings. The "Black Care" of *Carmina* 3.1 comes like a refrain on several of his pages (20, 45, 48, 51) to show that Horace sincerely faced the realities of life. If he had not based his philosophy of living upon a thoroughly sympathetic knowledge of man and the world, he could not have continued to be regarded as a helpful and genial oracle through the ages. In much he abides no less fresh to-day than in the distant Roman past. Human nature is much the same; for, as Austin Dobson wrote:

Science proceeds, and man stands still;
Our 'world' today's as good or ill,—
As cultured (nearly),
As yours was, Horace! You alone
Unmatched, unmet, we have not known.

Yet, could we but meet, should we not both know and like him?

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Vergil and his Meaning to the World of To-day. By J. W. Mackail. Boston: Marshall Jones Company (1922.) Pp. x+159. \$1.50.

Mr. Mackail occupies a sort of deanship among our classical scholars and wears his honors with such graciousness and dignity that one feels it almost a breach of courtesy to think of differing with him, which we have no serious intention of doing. His services to the Classics, and to Vergil in particular, have been of solid

value and long duration, and he has established such a store of gratitude with all of us that we are ready not only to join in the plaudits but also to lead the applause. The general public cares little about the speculations and controversies of philologists, at least until they have passed the stage of filtering, evaporating, and crystallizing, and this little volume, together with its fellows in the series, *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, is intended for the lay reader. The office of middleman Mr. Mackail performs preeminently well, and, although the professional student discerns by many indications here and there that the most recent contentions are not unknown to him, yet he traverses newly broken ground with cautious footsteps. In one instance alone do we feel that he has transgressed this wise reserve, in his unconditional acceptance of the theory of Skutsch that Gallus wrote the *Ciris* (55). In a book of this class we should have preferred to leave this among unsolved problems.

He has followed his master in dividing his material into twelve parts. In the first chapters he treats of the poet's accumulating charm from age to age, the world he lived in, the men who preceded him, and the path of his fortunes. The *Eclogues* are then expounded as the manifesto of a new humanism, and the *Georgics* as an idealization of Italy. Next are discussed the poet's approach to the epic theme, the architecture of the *Aeneid*, its human content, and the Italo-Roman ideal embodied there. The final chapters deal with the poet's place in the medieval and modern world, and with his style and diction. At the end Mr. Mackail rightly pleads, as it seems to me, for the spelling *Virgil*¹, which prevailed in English literature from Chaucer onwards, and he has added four pages of notes not likely to bewilder the general reader. The bibliography recites only twenty-three titles, from which controversial writings are excluded as well as a few others well known to laymen and specialists.

Mr. Mackail writes in his accustomed style, daintily embellished by apt Vergilian touches and illuminated by choice quotations; the tone is steadily expository and not apologetic. The latter quality of the treatment calls for particular commendation and sets a golden example. The trite topic of imitation is sagely belittled and Vergil is appraised, not as a successor of others, but as a founder and a forerunner of modern literatures. The great desideratum, of course, is not to be able to realize what Vergil did not perform nor yet to expose the metamorphosis of the crude material of the *Aeneid* from some amorphous shape to its present order and beauty, but to become seized of the effect produced by it upon the generation it first captivated, the influence it exerted through the ages, and by means of leisurely reflection and study to enjoy its accumulated charms to-day. From the time when Pope, slyest and most malicious of English poets, undertook, with only too much success, to exalt Homer at the expense of Vergil, mainly with arguments borrowed from Madame Dacier and her school, there has been a steady tradition

of Vergilian faint praise and half-apology, a baser thing than flat detraction, in English scholarship, and English scholars, by the way, have deserved far better of Greek literature than of Latin. Mr. Mackail, on the other hand, has been an able and constant interpreter of the Latins; he has steadily exalted Vergil for his positive merits, and he was not imposed upon by the great name of Nettleship (98; page 156, note 23).

The Vergilian field, rather strangely, has been neglected; it is lined with old entanglements of criticism and traditional opinions. Attempts are now being made to cut a new path across them, and, when sufficient time has elapsed to appraise the results, it is possible that we shall have need of new handbooks, but at the moment the manual before us deserves the widest dissemination. It is calculated to make friends for the Classics and for Vergil, to increase the number of the lovers of great works of literature, and to gain lay support for professional scholarship. If service of this kind should be allowed to flag, the world would be greatly the loser. The campaign in the interests of culture based on literature must be carried on unceasingly. We begin to lose ground as soon as we cease to gain it. The moment our efforts are relaxed the boat begins to drift downstream.

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NORMAN W. DEWITT

The Tradition of the Roman Empire. A Sketch of European History. By C. H. St. L. Russell. London: Macmillan and Co. (1921). Pp. viii+280.

In a small, compact volume, Mr. C. H. St. L. Russell, Assistant Master at Clifton College, England, has essayed to present a sketch of the peoples and the States of Europe from the earliest times down to the outbreak of the World War, in 1914, and to show thereby the influence of the tradition of the Roman Empire upon medieval and modern Europe.

In his Preface (vi), the author thus states the underlying thought of his work: "... to appreciate the history of any individual European country some knowledge is necessary of the history of Europe as a whole ...". His attack upon the problem differs, as he well states (vi), from many others that have preceded it or have followed it, "... in beginning somewhat further back, and in regarding, as the heart of the whole matter, Rome". He believes, with "A great historian" (5), that, to understand the modern world, the story of modern nations,

... "We must ever be thinking of Rome, ever looking to Rome, sometimes looking forward to it, sometimes looking back to it, but always having Rome in mind as the centre of the whole story".

The results of the fall of Rome have lasted to the present day. ... There is to-day hardly a state in Europe which has not been in some way or other, as friend or foe, connected with the Roman Empire; most of them owe their existence, directly or indirectly, to its growth, its fall, or its revival.

Mr. Russell devotes his first three chapters to The Making of the Roman Empire (5-27), Rome and the Conquest of the World (29-48), and the Overthrow of

¹THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY spells with *e*: see 15.107, note 1.
C. K.

the Roman Empire by the Barbarians (49-78). In the five remaining chapters (81-249) he traces the tradition of the Roman Empire, and the attempts to recreate the empire of the Caesars. In brief, Mr. Russell views the history of Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire in the West as embodied in one French attempt and three Teuton attempts to rebuild that Empire.

Chapter IV (81-113) is devoted to the First Teuton Attempt to recreate the Roman Empire—to that empire which was established by Charlemagne, and to the growth of the tradition that the Teutonic peoples were to reestablish and revive the Roman Empire. This First Teuton Attempt, known as the Roman Empire until the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa prefixed to its name the adjective Holy, continued, says Mr. Russell, to 1254 A. D., under varying direction and leadership; it ended with the period of Papal domination of the Emperors. In Chapter V (115-135) Mr. Russell traces the break-up of the Holy Roman Empire, and the emergence of France as a State, the rise and the fall of the Italian Republics, and the disintegration of Germany.

Chapter VI (137-174) deals with the Second Teuton Attempt, under the Hapsburgs of Austria and Spain. This, Mr. Russell believes, began in 1437, with the accession of the Emperor Albert II, and came to a close with the Treaty of Utrecht. Within the period of this Attempt were included the Reformation and the Religious Wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Chapter VII (175-205) is devoted to an account of the attempt by France to build up an empire under the Bourbons and under Napoleon, between 1648 and 1815. In Chapter VIII (207-249) Mr. Russell discusses the Third Teuton Attempt, which started after the overthrow of Napoleon's empire. Undertaken and pressed by the Hohenzollerns of Prussia, this attempt to revive the Roman Empire came to an end with the German defeat in 1918. As the author says in his Preface (vi), to this War, "... one may hope, as its last climax—the Tradition of the Roman Empire, here dealt with, may, through the long, troubled, centuries, be said to lead".

There are three Appendixes. The first (251-253) gives a list of the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire and their successors. The second (254-259) contains an Ethnological Table. The third (260-264) gives a summary of the principal events in the history of the individual States of Europe. An Index (265-280), and eight outline maps, which show the political organization of Europe in A. D. 364, 476, 800, 962, 1190, 1559, 1811, and 1914, complete the volume.

Mr. Russell has made use primarily, as he says in his Preface (v-vi), of such recognized authorities as Gibbon, Decline and Fall, Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, Ranke, History of the Popes, and Carl Ploetz, Epitome of History. His thesis and his method have led him to make short, definite statements and interpretations, which the reader constantly wishes the author had had space to expand and justify. Occasional footnotes furnish additional information, but seldom do we find,

in text or footnotes, specific references to justify statements of fact or interpretations.

Mr. Russell has produced an interesting and suggestive exposition of the influence of Rome upon the medieval and the modern world. The Holy Roman Empire acknowledged by its very name the tradition of the ancient Roman Empire. Founded by Charlemagne, it acquired its full title during the twelfth century and continued, in name at least, until 1806. Mr. Russell maintains that this was a Teutonic tradition, and that it was this tradition that influenced the Hohenzollerns during the last century.

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A Plain Guide to Greek Accentuation. Third Edition. By F. Darwin Swift. Oxford: Basil Blackwell (1922). Pp. 22. 3 Sh.

This is a collection of rules for the position of the Greek accent, with lists of the exceptions likely to be met in preparing exercises in Greek prose. Both rules and exceptions are to be learned by rote, and the arrangement has been adopted solely with a view to convenience in memorizing. No attention is paid to scientific considerations, and no effort is made to enlist the student's reason as an aid to his memory. For example, on pages 16-17 are grouped under six heads and nineteen subheads the words taking the circumflex on the ultima. Many of these, including several whole categories, have the circumflex as a result of contraction; but the rule for the accentuation of contract forms is not stated until page 20. Even then it appears as one of eight "Notes", as if it were a matter of minor importance.

The author says, in his Preface (5), that he does "not believe that the custom of giving a beginner a few of the principal rules and exceptions, and then allowing him to pick up his knowledge by practice *i. e.* at random, is ever a success . . .". One wonders whether the method here given succeeds much better; it is just possible that, after a boy has learned perfectly the hexameter list of "miscellaneous words" in *or* which are oxytone, (page 10), he may some day write *μέλος* or *κίσσος*, because the words fail to call the lists to mind.

At any rate, it would probably be difficult to force or persuade a very large proportion of American boys and girls to learn Mr. Swift's rules and lists. And the reviewer cannot help suspecting that, in this case, the American boys and girls are right, although in general he believes that the memory work which is necessary in learning a language should be done early and once for all. The Greek conjugations and declensions must be learned by rote, and it saves time to learn in the same way a considerable number of rules of wide application, such as the rules for contraction and many rules for accent. There are also some useful generalizations about composition and derivation that are too much neglected. Aside from such matters a vocabulary should be acquired—and word-accent with it—bit by bit as the words occur in the texts read.

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E. H. STURTEVANT